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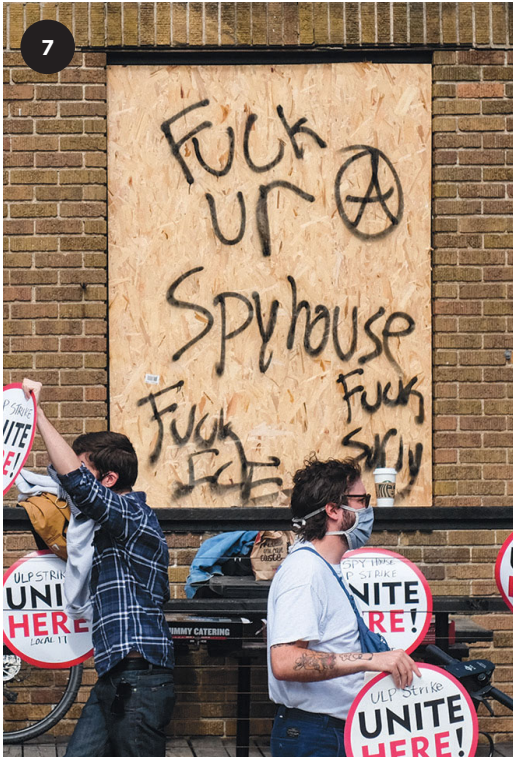


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By Emily Cassel and Jay Boller

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THE SHORTLIST



As aid is withheld and COVID cases spike, restaurants get new safety guidelines at citypages.com

STAR TRIBUNE

THE STAT SHEET

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Minnesota teachers who feel overwhelmed right now, per a union survey

17

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1,990.5 pounds

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1,178

MN COVID infections reported Monday, a fifth straight day of 1,000+ infections

"The Oscar Mayer Wiernmobile cut into my step-grandmother's funeral procession on the highway. It was quite hilarious."

Reader Elliot Houser responds to "Wiernmobile, Nutmobile spotted in Minneapolis" at citypages.com.

ROCKIN' THE SUBURBS

TALK OF DEFUNDING the police has dominated Minneapolis discourse since the murder of George Floyd in May. But there are no city elections in Minneapolis this year, which means the conversation has started creeping into the suburbs where there are. Minnpost's Solomon Gustavo reports that from Maplewood to Edina to Osseo, voters are asking city council candidates about their policing plans. And though some are willing to entertain talk about the department's budget, "none that MinnPost contacted expressly advocated defunding, or dismantling, any community's police department." Said Columbia Heights candidate Kay "Kt" Jacobs: "I will not have that conversation."

POPULAR STORIES

AT CITYPAGES.COM

Minnesota's **MOST EXPENSIVE CONDO** overlooks Target, Buffalo Wild Wings, Cub

Let's look at photos of the **MISSISSIPPI RIVER'S ROCKIN' BOTTOM**

WIERNMOBILE, NUTMOBILE spotted in Minneapolis

As Minneapolis teens keep dying, **NORTH SIDERS** push for a new youth center

DEREK CHAUVIN released from prison

SEE NO RACISM

State senator: “We shouldn’t even be talking about this”

Minnesota Sen. Bill Ingebrigtsen (R-Alexandria) is known for making sweeping statements, like one recently implying the debate about defunding the Minneapolis Police Department was the reason why “little kids” were “being shot.”

The former Douglas County sheriff is seeking a fifth term to represent his district in the west-central part of the state.

Last week, Ingebrigtsen appeared alongside his Democratic challenger, Michele Anderson of Fergus Falls, for a debate on the local public television station. Like most things that appear on PBS, it was a very understated and soft-spoken affair—unless you were paying attention to the understated and soft-spoken bullshit coming out of Senator Ingebrigtsen’s mouth.

The moderator asked what Minnesota legislators can do to end racial disparities and protect human rights.

Anderson acknowledged this as a critical

issue our state is “reckoning” with, and the first step is acknowledging it exists: that the outcomes for endeavors like having a child, getting a job, finding a safe place to live, and encounters with law enforcement can vary wildly depending on the color of your skin. (This has been studied and quantified many times over in Minnesota and beyond.)

“I appreciate the work that Senator Ingebrigtsen does, but unfortunately, this is something I really think he needs to do a better job on,” Anderson said. In particular, she mentioned that she’d prefer to see more teachers of color in classrooms, because students have been proven to do better in school when they have role models who look like them.

Ingebrigtsen was asked the same question.

“Well, quite frankly, I think this country is going through some times now where I guess it’s the... I guess I don’t know how to put it, exactly. But I don’t think there’s an educational opportunity that’s been turned

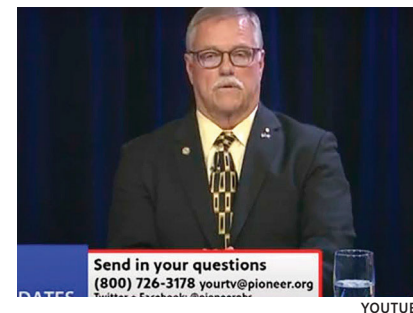
down for a teacher,” Ingebrigtsen began.

He continued: “We shouldn’t even be talking about this. We shouldn’t even be discussing this. And I don’t believe there is racial discrimination going on. I absolutely don’t.” He said he was born in the ’60s and remembered seeing Civil Rights protests on TV, with “fire trucks and hoses and dogs and horses.” He also said we’d come “leaps and bounds” since then.

In an aside, Ingebrigtsen suggested that civil rights got a little worse “under the Obama administration.” Ingebrigtsen didn’t respond to interview requests, and no explanation was given as to why he believed this.

He went on to claim that police had been maligned in today’s national conversation about racism and law enforcement.

“We don’t blame that one person for the whole community,” he said. “If that community isn’t raising their children in the proper fashion, that’s not a policeman’s issue. They’re going to be called in there if



there’s crime.... And yes, unfortunate things are going to happen. There’s going to be some shootings.”

The coda to Ingebrigtsen’s argument implied that if racism existed, we wouldn’t have had the one Black president in the nation’s history and... Serena Williams, maybe?

“But to sit here and lie to people and say we are in a horrible racist situation in this country, I’d have to ask, how did Obama get to be where he is? How did these professional sports stars get to be where they are?”

Because Ingebrigtsen didn’t respond, we were unable to ask him if he knew of any successful Black people other than former President Barack Obama and... athletes.

—HANNAH JONES



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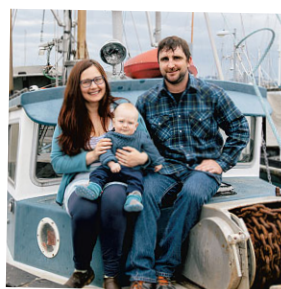
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THE FIGHT TO UNITE



EMILY UTNE

Tattersall became America's first unionized craft distillery in August.

Service industry workers are organizing and unionizing. Inside the Twin Cities' pro-labor push.

I. THE LATTE LINE

On September 19, Spyhouse Coffee workers went on strike.

"Spyhouse puts the cough in coffee—get your union busting off me!" employees chanted, marching in front of the local chain's Broadway and Central location in northeast Minneapolis. Their signs were scrawled with "I spy union busting" and "We like our coffee like we like our union: strong!" Traffic slowed through the prominent intersection as drivers rubbernecked at the commotion, many leaning on their horns in solidarity or shouting encouragement out of rolled-down windows.

The rally was the culmination of weeks of conflict between Spyhouse

staff and ownership. About 34 employees announced plans to unionize in August, joining a local labor push that includes Tattersall Distilling (which just became America's first unionized craft distillery) and Fair State Brewing Cooperative (which just became America's first unionized microbrewery).

Across Minnesota and the country, union membership is at historic lows. And the restaurant industry has had some of the lowest rates of union membership—roughly 1.8 percent, according to a 2014 study.

But the defining, ongoing events of 2020—COVID-19 and the uprising following the murder of George Floyd—have changed the hospitality industry like they have everything else. Forced to work with

inadequate safety protocols on the front lines of a pandemic that's killed 210,000-plus Americans so far, or to toil for owners who have a poor track record on social justice issues, employees are increasingly saying, "Enough." Sister distilleries Lawless

and Stilheart unionized last month. Surly Brewing Co.'s front-of-house and kitchen staff tried to, but ultimately fell short by a

single vote on October 7.

Which brings us back to the Spyhouse picket line, to what organizer Sheigh Freeberg of Unite Here Local 17 called the first successful food service strike in the Twin Cities in 20 years.

"How do we feel about the boss paying a union-busting attorney thousands of dollars instead of giving his workers haz-

ard pay?" Freeberg asked the assembled workers and supporters, to a chorus of boos (and one emphatic "Fuck that guy!").

"We know in the city of Minneapolis, it's not enough to say we support workers," said City Councilor Steve Fletcher (Ward 3). "We have to *actually* be out on the picket line. We have to *actually* support workers."

Freeberg addressed the crowd again.

"I want to ask you all something: Is having proper cleaning supplies at work too much to ask for?"

"No!"

"Is being provided face masks at work too much to ask for?"

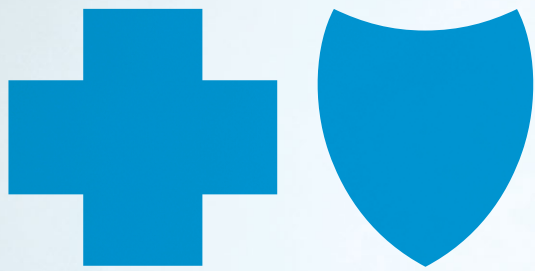
"No!"

"Do we need to be out here fucking striking for these basic things?"

"No!"

"It's ridiculous!"

by EMILY CASSEL
& JAY BOLLER



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II. HOW WORKERS WON THE SUMMER

In the middle of the 20th century, as U.S. union membership soared to all-time highs, you'd find unionized bars and restaurants all over the Twin Cities.

Founded nationally in 1891, the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Union (HERE) helped organize those Minneapolis and St. Paul cooks, waiters, bartenders, and hotel workers, many of whom were working as Americans for the first time.

"We were basically a union of immigrant workers, and we were one of the first unions to allow African-Americans in," says D. Taylor, the international president of what's now known, after a short-lived merger with the textile union Unite, as Unite Here. "The hospitality industry—hotels, restaurants, bars—has been a gateway for immigrant workers, and still is today."

As the labor movement absorbed gut punch after gut punch—Ronald Reagan's hard anti-union stance, NAFTA and globalization, right-to-work laws, enduring stigmas of corruption—unionized service-industry gigs dwindled. "We grew exponentially. Then, like the rest of the labor movement, we got kicked," Taylor says. Today, Unite Here still represents 307,000 workers in the United States and Canada, with chapters in major cities including New York City and Las Vegas. (At its peak in the '00s, UH repped about 450,000 members.)

Unite Here's Minnesota chapter, Local 17, has persisted through the decades, focusing its recent efforts mostly on workers at major hotels and concession stands at the Minneapolis-St. Paul International Airport and all four major sports stadiums/arenas.

"The culture of [Unite Here] is very much that they're strong, they're militant," says Hamilton Nolan, a labor reporter with leftist magazine *In These Times*. "They are very much into continually organizing, continually having a strong culture inside the union of, 'We are members of this union. We are going to fight for our rights. We are going to fight for our contracts. We are going to strike.'"

But, by the '00s, local leadership had grown bureaucratic and exclusionary, reports Local 17's Freeberg. So, in 2017, Freeberg and current chapter president Christa Mello mounted a reform campaign against their union's "entrenched" higher-ups. They won the election soundly.

The new regime's goals included making Local 17 "more transparent, more democratic, more member-focused," Freeberg says. They also hoped to channel Taylor's favorite mantra: Organize or die. ("A union is like a shark," Taylor declares. "A shark dies if it doesn't keep moving forward.")

"We had the goal of organizing in hospitality areas that we had not organized in for a long time," Freeberg says of bars, restaurants, breweries, distilleries, and cof-



COURTESY OF SURLY WORKERS

fee shops. Local 17's portfolio of around 20 union restaurants and bars already included old standbys like Mancini's, Jax Cafe, the St. Paul Grill, the Schooner Tavern, and Jimmy's Bar & Lounge, "but we felt like there was an opportunity there, and certainly there were people there that wanted to organize and needed a union," he adds.

First, Local 17 had to spend 2018 and 2019 negotiating most of its hotel contracts and "strengthening and empowering" its existing ranks of around 6,000 workers, Mello says. The union did dip its toes in those underexplored food/drink waters, mostly through workers' rights, safety, and training collaborations with nonprofit Restaurant Opportunities Centers United (ROC) and the Democratic Socialists of America's Twin Cities chapter.

Coronavirus accelerated everything.

The pandemic has hammered Unite Here on a national level, putting—at its peak—98 percent of the union's dues-paying members out of work. Taylor reports: "We were rebuilding, we were one of the fastest-growing private-sector unions in the country... then COVID hit!"

Locally, coronavirus exacerbated the existing grievances of an already put-upon service sector while creating brand-new life-and-death ones. If low wages and a top-down hierarchy sucked before, imagine punching into that undemocratic workplace with the added chaos of messy COVID guidelines, all while dodging potentially deadly sneezes.

"We are all looking toward the winter and continued impacts of COVID-19 knowing how much our industry and our jobs are changing on the fly," Lawless Distilling Co. bartender Eliza Smith told CP last

month. "We want a guarantee that our input will be heard."

Service-industry workers became essential front-line workers, Mello points out, though their pay and safety protocols did not reflect that transformation.

"None of us knew COVID would hit, and that it would really have such a spark with new organizing," she says. "Workers feel like they've been completely taken advantage of for years, but everything always boils up. It was kind of a perfect storm."

The storm's successive blasts struck quickly over the summer.

In June, workers at Tattersall Distilling in northeast Minneapolis informed ownership they'd be forming a union, a move that'd make it America's first unionized craft distillery. Then, in August, workers at five Spyhouse Coffee locations announced their intent to unionize.

In the following weeks, workers at Surly, Lawless, Stilheart, and Fair State all joined forces with Unite Here.

"Honestly, every time something happens, I have a dozen other places reach out to me; it's super exciting," Freeberg says, noting that shops from all over Minnesota are making contact with Unite Here. "Coronavirus happened, and workers didn't have the opportunity to pretend their boss cared anymore, because their bosses made it so incredibly clear that they didn't."

III. A LABOR OF LOVE

In the early weeks of the COVID-19 pandemic, Tattersall got a lot of attention from a lot of publications (including this one)

At Surly, unionization efforts fell by a single vote earlier this month.

for quickly pivoting to hand sanitizer production. All Hands, an alcohol-based disinfectant made in cooperation with Du Nord Craft Spirits and Brother Justus, arrived at a time when you couldn't keep Purell on shelves. They've provided more than 105,000 gallons to Minnesotans over the last few months, according to their website, and proceeds from sales have funded a million meals through Second Harvest Heartland.

But it wasn't such a feel-good story for employees like Tattersall distiller Mike Appletoft. Back-of-house workers were deemed essential and were still scheduled to come in. The switch to making sanitizer was physically and emotionally taxing, and the anxiety of being exposed to the virus and unwittingly bringing it home—in Appletoft's case, to his immunocompromised partner—was taking a toll. Distillers at Tattersall asked for hazard pay. They were told no.

"In those conditions you start thinking to yourself, 'Why am I doing this?'" Appletoft says. "I didn't feel at all supported by management, and I realized that I had never felt supported by management." When the distillery's front-of-house staff shared that they were planning to unionize over concerns about COVID safety and reopening the cocktail room, joining them was "a no-brainer."

Staff at Fair State had been talking about organizing for about a year, but community manager Anna Schmitz says Tattersall going public really opened the door for

those conversations by giving employees a way to bring up organizing in a way that felt natural. And watching the pandemic response from other bars, restaurants, and breweries—hours cut or added without warning, reopening plans made without input from employees—helped put their efforts into overdrive.

“It makes you realize how loosey-goosey employment is without a union, where it’s like—basically your boss can do anything. We’re in a good position at Fair State, we don’t have a boss who’s like, ‘And therefore, I will do anything!’” Schmitz says with a laugh. “But there really are not, at the end of the day, that many protections for workers if you don’t have a union.”

It’s not uncommon to see organizing efforts rocket through an industry like this; Hamilton Nolan at In These Times describes it as very much a word-of-mouth movement. But the stability, the protection, all the benefits that workers might get when they’re unionized—these things can come at a cost.

With the exceptions of Fair State, Lawless, and Stilheart, whose owners welcomed their new unions, bosses reacted with varying degrees of resistance. Tattersall and Surly came around, Freeberg says, while Spyhouse owner Christian Johnson has hired PR pros and lawyers to squash his workers, culminating with a “stunt” offer to outright sell the shops to them.

Surly, the country’s 34th-largest craft brewery, laid off 100-plus front-of-house workers days after they announced their intent to unionize, though bosses insisted the move was purely COVID-related.

“We anticipated some behavior on Surly’s part to discourage the union, so when [the layoffs] happened, that’s the first thing we thought of,” Surly worker Megan Caswell says. “This is clearly their attempt to fire us all and reopen with a new staff that’s not unionized. Personally, I still kind of feel that way.”

After some wrangling, Surly agreed to a union election on October 7, which ultimately fell short of authorizing the union by a single vote, mostly due to 36 workers abstaining. Unite Here vowed that Surly workers “will keep fighting in solidarity with each other.” As it stands, New Ulm-based August Schell Brewing Co. remains one of the country’s few unionized craft breweries. (Most of the macros have unions.)

“It always takes some level of bravery from the workers to do any union campaign, even in the best of conditions,” Nolan says. “In these conditions,”—that is, working in an industry where employees are still experiencing 85 percent unemployment due to the coronavirus—“it takes more bravery.”

Consider the Spyhouse situation, where Grace Erpenbach says baristas were frustrated with an array of issues. There was



BRYAN FRANK

no response to the murder of George Floyd; there were hardly any security measures in place for COVID. After she contacted Unite Here Local 17 and employees went public with their plans to unionize, Erpenbach was called into a meeting where she says she was given a pretty clear choice: Stop the organizing, or lose your job. She opted for the latter.

About seven employees—including several managers and head roaster Tony Querio, one of the reasons Spyhouse is a nationally recognized coffee roasting company—immediately quit in solidarity. More have left since. Erpenbach doesn’t want to take all the credit, but says it was a camel’s-back situation.

The frustrating thing for her is that for all the BS, she liked working at Spyhouse. “I was there for four years,” she says. “I would have liked to be there another four years.” The union drive wasn’t done in retaliation against ownership or the other managers; they wanted a better, safer workplace.

“What it seems like people on the other side [who oppose unionization] are not thinking about as much is like, we don’t want Fair State to go out of business more than anyone,” Schmitz says. “We’re not going to do anything that’s going to cause Fair State to go out of business.”

The response to unionization there has been overwhelmingly positive: The cooperative brewery got about four times as many new customer memberships after going public than it does in a normal week. (Having voluntary recognition helps.) They already had an employee council that acted as a de facto union, and this

formalizes that in a legal sense. Since it’s a cooperatively owned, progressive place, it made a lot of sense to onlookers.

But just because a brewery or distillery or coffee shop looks good from the outside, that doesn’t mean it is. “Breweries are kind of able to skate on having good vibes, basically,” Schmitz says. “That doesn’t necessarily translate to a good environment for workers.” She compares it to tech, where employee mistreatment runs rampant: Companies start small and grow more quickly than they expected to. Founders tend to be young—often it’s their first company—and before they know it, they’re running an actual business. There probably wasn’t an HR department established along the way. Processes might not be efficient or fair.

Appletoft says working in a distillery or brewery is hard work, and almost everyone you talk to in the industry complains about long hours, poor pay, and bad (or no) benefits. But it’s also rewarding work, and it’s a lot of fun.

“This is a huge, industry-wide problem,” he says. “Management takes advantage of the fact that we love what we do for a living, and that needs to change. I think the best way to accomplish this change is to organize.” All of Tattersall’s three eligible distillery workers voted to be in the union.

When we spoke with Caswell at Surly last week, hours before the union effort failed, she said conversations with upper management since employees announced their intent to unionize have been a little odd, a little uncomfortable.

Sheigh Freeberg of Unite Here Local 17 called the Spyhouse strike the Twin Cities’ first successful food service strike in 20 years.

On the other hand, “In the five and a half years that I’ve worked there... this is the first time in all that time that they’ve ever asked my opinion on anything. So, I don’t know. It seems like it’s already working.”

IV. BEATUP BIG LABOR’S GENERATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

Labor and leftist types have a favorite graph.

Spanning 1913 through 2013, it features two roller-coastering lines—one representing U.S. union membership, the other representing the share of U.S. income concentrated among the top 10 percent. In the early years, according to numbers from the Economic Policy Institute, union membership hit just 11 percent, while wealth concentration was at 40.3 percent. From the 1940s through the 1960s, widely considered the country’s post-WWII economic heyday, the lines weave together in the low 30s. Then, we see the great union decline, which bottoms out today back around 11 percent.

The blue-blood line? It’s pushing 50 percent, a screaming indicator that we’re living in the New Gilded Age.

If there’s to be a union revival, it won’t be in manufacturing sectors, most of which

have fled the U.S., and it likely won't be spearheaded by Baby Boomers and Gen Xers, the recipients of relative golden-ticket economic realities who are now eyeballing retirement.

"The forces of inequality that have been crushing America for 40 years now are creeping up the ladder," says Nolan. "It's not like you get a college degree now and you're guaranteed to make a living wage; there are people all over the country who are like, 'This is a ripoff.'"

As those younger workers replace older ones, shifting views about worker vs. boss dynamics might come with them. New Gallup polling found that people under 35 view labor unions more favorably than older generations (ditto for socialism), and that's being reflected in new union membership, 75 percent of which is made up of workers under 35, according to the Center for Economic Policy and Research. Recent teacher strikes and unionized media outlets (L.A. Times, the New Yorker, VICE) provided additional spikes on the labor movement's heart monitor. The new economy's biggest, toughest nut to crack for labor could be Big Tech; "The Failure to Unionize the Tech Industry Will Eat the Labor Movement Alive," exclaims a Nolan headline from August.

Could breweries, restaurants, and cof-

fee shops become the new factory floor, providing liveable pay and benefits to anyone willing to work? Unite Here is betting on it.

"The labor movement has made jobs better; it's not because companies are nicer. Manufacturing jobs used to be horrible jobs until they were unionized," says Unite Here leader Taylor. "I think [young] folks are looking around and saying: 'OK, we're not getting our fair share, how can we get our fair share?' And Local 17 and the labor movement are vehicles for those workers."

Freeberg also sees generational attitudes as a major opportunity for labor.

"We're not so blinded to the fact that this system is rigged: It's rigged in favor of the rich and business owners," says Freeberg, a Millennial. "The only way we can fix that is by coming together."

Just 13.7 percent of Minnesota workers are union members—down from 23 percent in 1983 but still higher than the current national average of about 10 percent—though the state has a long, feisty labor history, from the "Bloody Friday" police killings of two striking Minneapolis Teamsters in 1934 to the marathon Hormel meatpacking strike in Austin from 1985-86. Unite Here leaders sound downright optimistic about Minnesota's future.

Taylor calls Local 17's work "exemplary,"

and the chapter president, Christa Mello, says locals around the country are inquiring about how to tap youthful energy inside service-industry businesses. Freeberg admits that it has been shocking to witness the avalanche of public goodwill set off by the union announcements at Tattersall, Spyhouse, Lawless, Stilheart, Surly, and Fair State.

"A lot of people in the labor movement are talking about, 'How can [we] use this moment to spark a new awakening?'" Nolan says. "Unionizing is really the most powerful tool people have. It's on the shoulders of the labor union to make it happen."

V. SO... NOW WHAT?

Though times remain uncertain, Unite Here's newest card-carrying members are pushing ahead. Fair State workers hope to start negotiations in the next few months. Employees at Lawless, Stilheart, and Tattersall are in the process of writing up their demands.

Meanwhile, Tattersall's cocktail room hasn't reopened. Front-of-house employees like Alice Brandt, who's been with the distillery for five years, can only speculate about what a return would look like, and how they would protect themselves from COVID while providing the excellent

hospitality they're known for.

Still, "It feels really important to be doing this right now," Brandt says. Even if she's not on the floor, distillers and bottlers can benefit sooner. "I really do believe the restaurant industry could improve and innovate if there was less turnover—of staff, of restaurant concepts." She thinks the union will keep them from having their concerns talked over or pushed aside.

"It's interesting for people to assume that workers having a voice is a burden to the boss," Freeberg says. "And if that's not an indictment of our system, I don't know what is."

The organizer notes that it's not only owners who've been hit by COVID-19—it's immigrant cooks and single moms and college students trying to pay their way who have been thrust into an essential role without much of a support net, losing money as they put themselves at risk. In his experience, most workers aren't looking for "massive raises" from unionization.

"Near 95 percent of what the workers who come to me are talking about? They're talking about having a voice at work, having respect for this pandemic and a safety plan, and having respect for workers," Freeberg says. "That's not asking for too much. That's not a burden." ■

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BY JESSICA ARMBRUSTER

It's been a hot minute since A-List featured upcoming events. When the pandemic forced us into lockdown, theaters shuttered, festivals rescheduled, and galleries closed until further notice. But as we enter our eighth month in isolation, some happenings have started popping up again—albeit in different formats to ensure safety.

This week, we're highlighting a few of those events.

Recovery Riot

It's official: We can use the term “annual” to describe Acme's Recovery Riot, now in its second year. The event is sober in content, but not in tone. Meaning, there will be no booze at the bar, and no jokes about substances, but laughter will be as raucous as any other night at the club. “There is a huge sober community in the city,” event organizer Patrick Strait, who often covers the comedy scene as a contributing writer for City Pages, told us last year. “But it's kind of tough—especially when you're new to sobriety—to really know how to reintroduce yourself into the world and start having fun again. There is a way to keep doing that even if you don't drink or do drugs anymore.” This year's lineup includes Carmen Lynch, a 2018 alum of Crash and Burn, the Tim Slagle series where seasoned comics create an all-new set of material over the course of a week; Mike Lester, whose comedy podcast, *I Love You, Mana*, won a City Pages Best Of last year; and Nate Nickel, winner of Acme's Funniest Person Contest in 2017. If you're not comfortable heading to the club (there's still a plague on, after all), you can enjoy some sober fun at home via Acme's Zoom stream. Proceeds from tickets benefit Stepping Stones, a sober housing program in St. Paul. \$18; \$11 to stream via Zoom. 8 p.m. Acme Comedy Co., 708 N. First St., Minneapolis; 612-338-6393. **Wednesday, October 14**

Twin Cities Book Festival

In times of pandemic, festivals are generally a no-go. So Rain Taxi's Twin Cities Book Festival has pivoted to being a virtual experience. And we suspect this will work great; of all the annual get-togethers in the Twin Cities, a celebration of books is probably the most cyber-friendly. For its 20th(!) year, this all-ages, all-genre book party doesn't look that different from other

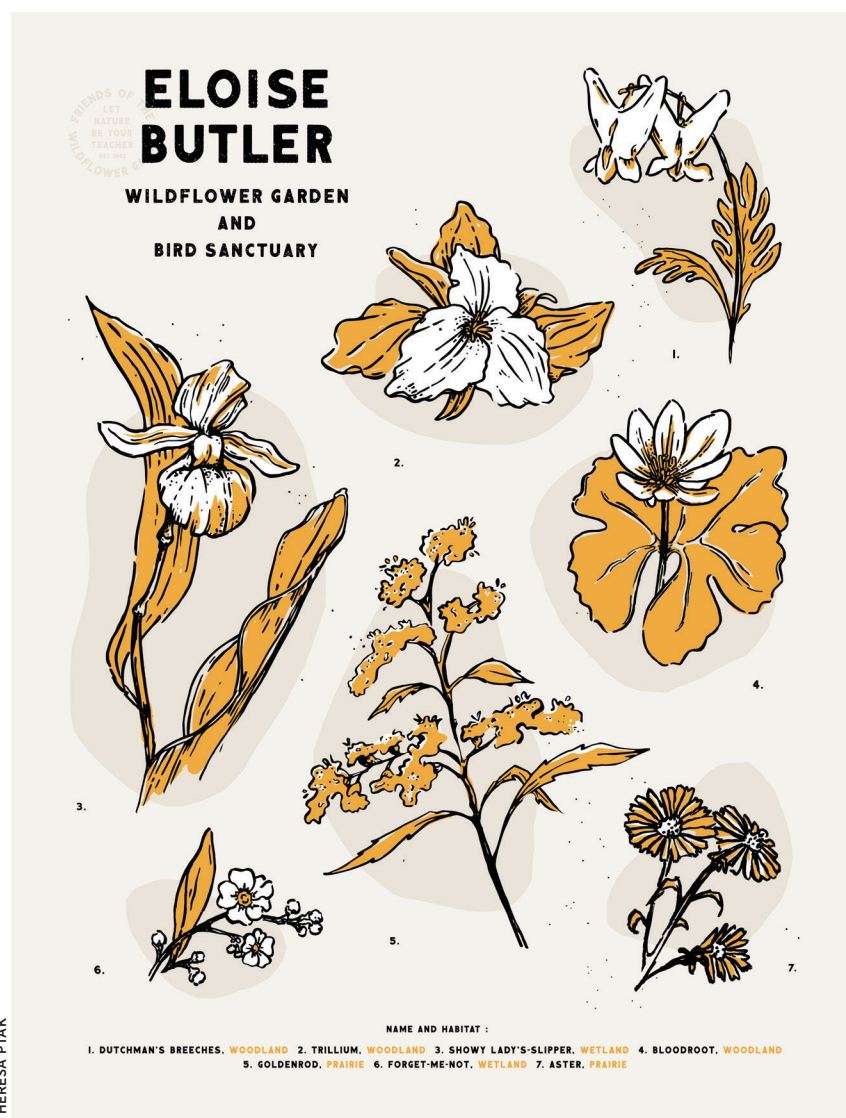
THERESA PTAK

years. The gang's all here: Expect author readings, panel talks, book sales, and more over the course of three days. Highlights include Pulitzer Prize-winning playwright Ayad Akhtar, whose latest novel, *Homeland Elegies*, takes a fictionalized look at the world post-9/11. Intriguing group discus-

sions include a talk from three authors (Dorf Backderf, R. Sikoryak, and James Otis Smith) who recount history via graphic novel, covering things like Kent State, the Constitution, and Black heroes of the Wild West. You can find the complete schedule of happenings by clicking the “events”

A-LIST RETURNS! (KIND OF)

Let's appreciate these four fun events happening this week



NAME AND HABITAT :
1. DUTCHMAN'S BREECHES, WOODLAND 2. TRILLIUM, WOODLAND 3. SHOWY LADY'S-SLIPPER, WETLAND 4. BLOODROOT, WOODLAND
5. GOLDENROD, PRAIRIE 6. FORGET-ME-NOT, WETLAND 7. ASTER, PRAIRIE

tab at twincitiesbookfestival.com, but you might also consider trying out the “Festival GPS” button, where a live volunteer can recommend things you might particularly enjoy. Also good to know: All events are free. 10 a.m. to 8 p.m. Thursday through Saturday. **October 15-17**

Posters for Parks

Now in its fifth year, Posters for Parks features tons of cool art for a good cause: 50 percent of sales go to the People for Parks Fund at Minneapolis Parks Foundation and the other half goes directly to the artists. This year the benefit is moving online, with over 30 rad posters for sale. Choose from pieces celebrating birding, botanics, biking, waterways, or winter sports. And how will they manage this benefit party during a pandemic? Via Zoom, of course. The sale will kick off with an online cocktail party this Saturday, October 17, from 5 to 6 p.m. DJ King Otto will spin tunes, Parks Foundation's Jennifer Downham will play virtual bartender, and this year's posters will be revealed. Attendees are encouraged to register in advance via Eventbrite. After that, check out artwork and buy posters at lovemplsparcs.org. **October 17-24**

The Birds

“Birds just don't go 'round attacking people for no reason, you know what I mean?” a man points out in Alfred Hitchcock's classic horror flick *The Birds*. Tell that to anyone who has fled from a pissed-off peacock at the zoo or swatted at a bluejay angry at you being too close to its nest. But it is probably our bad experiences with these creatures that fuel the fear in this tale of animal vengeance in a sleepy California beach town. Upon release, the movie received mixed reviews, but it went on to become a classic in the horror canon. These days, it can be appreciated as an early example of the nature horror genre. Like many horror flicks from past eras, the special effects haven't aged well, but laughing at bad animatronics and obvious green-screen backdrops is part of the fun. You can see it on the big screen this weekend at Mears Park; hopefully the nearby creatures don't take inspiration from the movie. Sumo Eggroll food truck will be serving up eats. You must RSVP to attend; find more info on how to do so at stpaul.gov/MoviesInThePark. \$10 per group. 5 p.m. Mears Park, 221 Fifth St. E., St. Paul. **Saturday, October 17** 📺



STAR TRIBUNE

WHO'S THE BOSS?

Maybe Trump supporters just don't care what 'Born in the U.S.A.' 'really' 'means'

BY KEITH HARRIS

So I see we're doing that thing again where we pedantically school conservatives on their inability to grasp the finer points of popular culture.

While Trump was being pumped full of grade A pharmaceuticals at Walter Reed earlier this month, NBC News correspondent Kelly O'Donnell reported that his supporters were blasting Bruce Springsteen's "Born in the U.S.A." outside the hospital to... um, I guess somehow boost their ailing hero's spirits, or at least give him something nice to watch on TV. Though honestly the scene reminds me more of the U.S. troops surrounding Manuel Noriega and blaring Guns N' Roses at him till he

emerged from the Vatican embassy. (Eighties kids will remember.)

On cue, thoughtful liberals dutifully slid glasses up noses and, once more, offered an introductory seminar in Bruce 101. "Born in the U.S.A." [exasperated sigh] is the story of a guy with no future forced to choose between jail and Vietnam who comes home after the war to no job or even less of a future. Hardly flag-waving stuff, with the downbeat verses making the mood of the chorus increasingly opaque. Is he expressing pride despite betrayal? Is this a nativist claim to his birthright? Is he just stuck like a needle in a groove repeating what he once believed? Our connection to our

homes is a complicated tangle of emotions, and few songs dramatize that so effectively.

Still, claiming "Born in the U.S.A." as a jingoist meathead chant is a long, stupid, much-ridiculed tradition. Ronald Reagan was the first Republican to unsuccessfully ask for Springsteen's permission to use it as a campaign song, while deliberately misreading it as an optimistic ode, but he wasn't the last. The party line is that Republicans are "dumb" because they don't get it. But also, the tension that makes the song so profound wouldn't exist if the chorus couldn't be misheard in isolation as a stirring, straightforward bark of patriotism.

Anyway, we all "get songs wrong" all the time. That's the nature of pop. We wrench our favorite songs out of context and willfully mishear lyrics, caring less about what they mean than what they mean to us. That's why couples slow-dance at proms and weddings to songs whose lyrics, when listened to a little more closely, indicate a future of messily

dysfunctional attachment rather than true romance. There's something wistfully democratic about an insistence that pop music gains meaning through how it's experienced, regardless of authorial intent. How dare you lecture me and my eighth-grade crush about what "Every Breath You Take" "really means," Sting!

And it's why sampling felt like such a jolt of liberation—this music doesn't own us, rappers seemed to say, we own this music. (Or, at least, we'll salvage the good parts and trash the rest.) In later lawsuits, though, copyright prevailed over sweat equity, and the ability to redefine a song rested instead with corporations who secured the rights to use them in ads. Power seeks to control meaning. And capital has the power.

The irony, of course, is that as you're reading this, yet another conservative judge is pretending that texts do have fixed meanings. In all likelihood, Amy Coney Barrett will spend the next four decades on the Supreme Court preaching the scam of originalism, a method of interpreting words that pretends not to interpret language but to understand its essential nature. Power also means there's no need to be consistent.

So when some yahoos bellow "Born in the U.S.A." in the streets, or Trump blasts "Macho Man" or "Rocking in the Free World" at a rally, it's beside the point to say they don't "get" what the songs "really" mean. The goal is to harness the emotional effect of the music for their own ends without most listeners caring about literal meaning, to yoke pop into the orbit of a demagogue as the ultimate form of entitlement.

That doesn't mean we shouldn't reclaim these songs for ourselves, push back against their appropriation, and create even more radical art in response. And yeah, it can be funny—back when a same-sex marriage ban was on the Minnesota ballot in 2012, I saw a family supporting the bigoted amendment doing "Y.M.C.A." at karaoke, and believe me I chuckled. But there's something more at work here than "lol dummies." These folks know they're not going to lose points on the final exam for misreading the text. We should acknowledge that whatever ironies we hear in Trump's rally soundtracks are irrelevant to the spectacle of power accumulating cultural artifacts for its own ends.

Never assume you understand mass culture better than fascists do. **BF**

ARIES (March 21-April 19): Would you be willing to meditate on how you might become more skilled in the arts of intimacy? Would you consider reading books and websites that offer guidance about strategies for being the best partner and ally you can be?

TAURUS (April 20-May 20): Entre chien et loup is a French idiom that literally means "between dog and wolf." It's used to describe twilight or dusk, when the light is faint and it's tough to distinguish between a dog and a wolf.

GEMINI (May 21-June 20): For 34 years, the beloved American TV personality Mr. Rogers did a show for children. He's now widely acknowledged as having been a powerful teacher of goodness and morality. Here's a fun fact: His actual middle name was "McFeely."

CANCER (June 21-July 22): A blogger named Dr.LoveLlama writes, "You may think I am walking around the house with a blanket around my shoulders because I am cold, but in fact the 'blanket' is my cloak and I am on a fantasy adventure."

LEO (July 23-Aug. 22): According to author Rev. Dr. Marilyn Sewell, "The body has its own way of knowing, a knowing that has little to do with logic, and much to do with truth."

VIRGO (Aug. 23-Sept. 22): In his fictional memoir Running in the Family, Virgo author Michael Ondaatje returns to Sri Lanka, the land where he spent his childhood, after many years away.

LIBRA (Sept. 23-Oct. 22): "The hardest thing you will ever do is trust yourself," says Libran journalist Barbara Walters. Really? I don't think so. In my experience, the hardest thing to do is to consistently treat ourselves with the loving care we need to be mentally and physically healthy.

SCORPIO (Oct. 23-Nov. 21): "You can't learn anything when you're trying to look like the smartest person in the room," writes author Barbara Kingsolver. That's a useful message for you right now.

SAGITTARIUS (Nov. 22-Dec. 21): I've decided not to use quotes by famous writers who've endorsed bigoted ideas. In the future, my horoscopes won't mention the work of T. S. Eliot, Roald Dahl, V. S. Naipaul, Edith Wharton, Kingsley Amis, H. P. Lovecraft, Flannery O'Connor, Rudyard Kipling, and Louis-Ferdinand Celine.

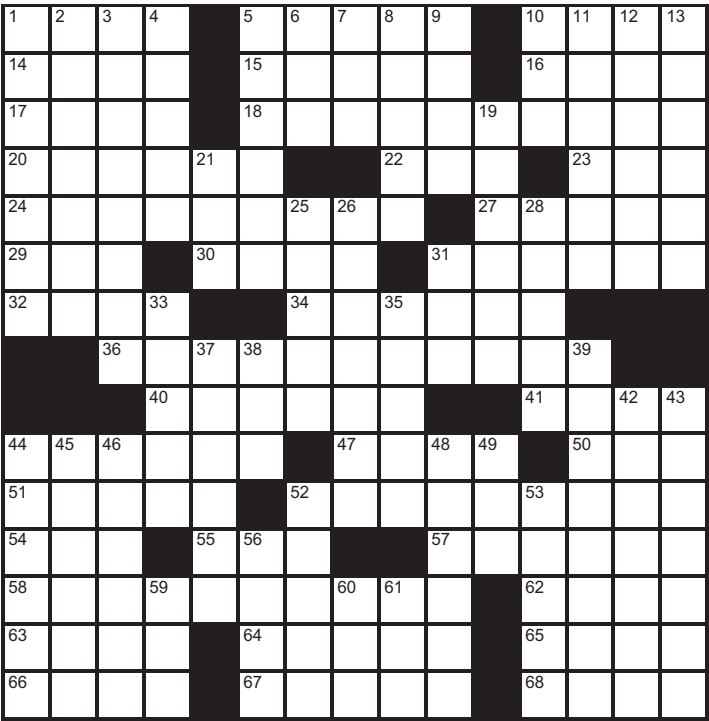
CAPRICORN (Dec. 22-Jan. 19): Capricorn chemist Tu Youyou doesn't have a medical degree or PhD. Yet she discovered a treatment for malaria that has saved millions of lives. The drug was derived from an ancient herbal medicine that she spent years tracking down.

AQUARIUS (Jan. 20-Feb. 18): "Luck is what happens to you when fate gets tired of waiting," says author Gregory David Roberts. If that's true, I expect that a surge of luck will flow your way soon.

PISCES (Feb. 19-March 20): Have you formulated wily plans and crafty maneuvers to help you navigate through the labyrinthine tests and trials up ahead? I hope so. If you hope to solve the dicey riddles and elude the deceptive temptations, you'll need to use one of your best old tricks--and come up with a new trick, as well.

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BY BRENDAN EMMETT QUIGLEY

Across

- 1 Gives in to gravity
- 5 Happen in a flash
- 10 Exam not taken with a #2 pencil
- 14 Stop bleeding
- 15 Jewish Community Center orgs.
- 16 When doubled, a hot pepper from Africa (better than actress Gilpin)
- 17 Follow the rules
- 18 Those that polish off posterns?
- 20 "Ghostbusters" star ___ Jones
- 22 Bird commonly seen in crosswords
- 23 Chomped down
- 24 Mugs that might collect lint?
- 27 It's hot and heavy in the kitchen
- 29 Greek letter that appears in the letters before and after it
- 30 Hawaii's coffee coast
- 31 Roused from slumber
- 32 Trank gun projectile
- 34 2020 NLCS team
- 36 Stamping machines owned by the "Little Women" family?
- 40 Lack of muscle coordination
- 41 They're all for it
- 44 Where work might pile up
- 47 Apothecary's container
- 50 Mustangs of Division I: Abbr.
- 51 ___ reef
- 52 All the stuff a

- bear needs to feel comfortable at home?
- 54 Roughly 2:00 dir.
- 55 Rocker Turner with the biography "Takin' Back My Name"
- 57 "Look who's back!"
- 58 "Munchkins" or "Coolatta"?
- 62 Julia Roberts's older acting brother
- 63 Sparkling wine
- 64 Brings home
- 65 Muckraker Skeeter of the Potterverse
- 66 Ren Faire drink
- 67 Extract (from)
- 68 Thom ___

Down

- 1 Ripped someone a new one
- 2 Calgary's province
- 3 Homers
- 4 Newspaper section with fashion news
- 5 Creole musical genre
- 6 Initialism before proffering an opinion
- 7 Vietnamese soup
- 8 Takes it all off, perhaps
- 9 French river that flows through Flanders
- 10 Make a decision
- 11 Mizuno rival
- 12 Pull into town
- 13 "Here's the facts..."
- 19 What to put down here
- 21 Bother
- 25 Remove from the packaging

- 26 Like a really challenging golf hole, probably
- 28 Opera set during the Napoleonic wars
- 31 "Cherish the Day" creator DuVernay
- 33 Pageant winner's crown
- 35 At full speed, in a boat
- 37 Bibliography notation
- 38 "I've been thinking ..."
- 39 Crazy person
- 42 Retired female professor
- 43 "Watch me do it"
- 44 Winter blockade
- 45 Inactivity
- 46 Starbucks order
- 48 Surrounded by
- 49 On the ___ (at large)
- 52 Name on a Scotch whisky bottle
- 53 Heat measurement
- 56 Had down cold
- 59 Tease
- 60 Something a mine sweeper might stumble upon?
- 61 Some frontline heroes: Abbr.

Last Week's Answer



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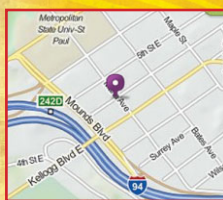


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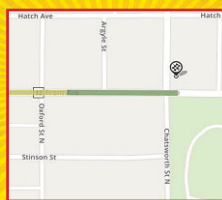
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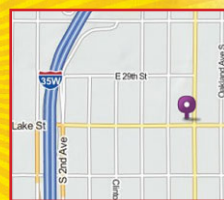
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Direct Messages

My recently deceased
husband had a sexy secret



Dan Savage

My husband recently passed away. He was a wonderful person and we had 12 great years together. He was also very, very organized. His death was an accident but everything was in order. He even left a note in a sealed envelope for his lawyer to present to me: one last love letter. Our relationship wasn't perfect, but that's who he was. Or that's who I thought he was.

My husband was very good-looking and took meticulous care of his body. He wasn't conceited, but he enjoyed the effect his appearance had on others. In addition to his last love letter and other documents, I was given a list with the passwords to my husband's social media accounts. I made the mistake of looking at his messages on Instagram. He exchanged private images with hundreds of women and gay men all over the world: photos of him fully nude, of his genitals, even video clips of him masturbating with his face visible.

I knew he had exhibitionistic tendencies. Years before we met he got in legal trouble for exposing himself in a public place. He sought help for impulse control and never did something like that again. He always had a very high libido, much higher than mine. He masturbated frequently, and public sex remained his biggest fantasy. I didn't judge or shame him. We jokingly called masturbation "his thang" and sex, which we had roughly once a week, "our thang," and one time, when it seemed safe, we did manage to have sex in public. He expressed an interest in opening up our relationship years ago but I'm monogamous by nature and he agreed to keep our relationship closed. And I believe he did: I've read through his messages with these strangers and there are no mentions of meetings. I've seen dozens of messages from people who wanted to meet, and he always turned them down. But he never turned down a request for more photos.

Help me understand this. I hate sitting here feeling like my marriage was a lie.

WISHING INSTAGRAM DIDN'T OPEN WINDOW

I am so sorry for your loss, WIDOW, and I'm so sorry your grief has been complicated by what you found in your husband's Instagram account. But you shouldn't for a moment doubt the man who wanted to make sure you got one last love letter should he

die unexpectedly. That's not something a person would do for someone they didn't truly love. Your husband was who you thought he was. Your marriage wasn't a lie.

So far as you know, WIDOW, your husband never cheated on you. And after reading thousands of his DMs, which your husband didn't think you would see, it's safe to say you know everything. What you know now that you didn't before is that sharing pictures with strangers was one of your husband's "thangs."

Now I'm going to ask you to make a leap.

Instead of seeing what you found as evidence of your husband's unfaithfulness, try to see it as something that made it possible for him to remain faithful. Think of those DMs like a pressure-release valve. On Instagram, your husband could expose himself to strangers who wanted to see him naked without the temptations of face-to-face encounters that might've led him to violate the monogamous commitment he made to you.

One person can't be all things to another person sexually. People can ask for monogamous commitments. We all have a right to expect consideration and compassion from our partners—and not having the needs we can't meet or the ways we fall short thrown in our faces is one way our partners demonstrate consideration and compassion. Your husband needed more attention than any one person could ever provide. He didn't rub that in your face. He cut an ethical corner by swapping DMs with strangers to meet a need you couldn't—but if getting that need met the way he did made it possible for him to stay in your marriage and stay faithful to you, perhaps you benefited too. And while your husband should've asked for your permission, if you had found his DMs while he was alive, he would've no doubt asked for your forgiveness. Think of the years he gave you and the love he showed you and ask yourself if you could give him the forgiveness he would be asking for if he could. Then give him—give yourself—that gift.

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User further consents and agrees with all of the following additional terms of Self-executing Contract/Security Agreement in Event of Unauthorized Use: Payment Terms: In accordance with fees for unauthorized use of MOLLY MARIE ZIMMERMAN® as set forth above, User hereby consents and agrees that User shall pay Secured Party all unauthorized-use fees in full within ten (10) days of date Invoice is sent. User shall be deemed in default and: (a) all of User's property and property pledged as collateral by User, as set forth in above in paragraph "(2)"; immediately becomes, i.e. is, property of Secured Party; (b) Secured Party is appointed User's Authorized Representative as set forth above in paragraph "(8)"; and (c) User consents and agrees that Secured Party may take possession of, as well as otherwise dispose of in any manner that Secured Party, in Secured Party's sole discretion, deems appropriate, including, but not limited by, sale at auction, at any time following User's default, and without further notice, any and all of User's property and interest, described above in paragraph "(2)"; formerly pledged as collateral by User, no property of Secured Party, in respect of this "Self-executing Contract/Security Agreement in Event of Unauthorized Use," that Secured Party, again in Secured Party's sole discretion, deems appropriate. Terms for Curing Default: Upon event of default, as set forth above under "Default Terms," irrespective of any and all of User's former property and interest in property, described above in paragraph "(2)"; in the possession of, as well as disposed of by, Secured Party, as authorized above under "Default Terms," User may cure User's default only re the remainder of User's said former property and interest property, formerly pledged as collateral that is neither in the possession of, nor otherwise disposed of by, Secured Party within twenty (20) days of date of User's default only by payment in full. Terms of Strict Foreclosure: User's non-payment in full of all unauthorized-use fees itemized in Invoice within said twenty- (20) day period for curing default as set forth above under "Terms for Curing Default" authorizes Secured Party's immediate non-judicial strict collateral by User, now property of Secured Party, which is not in the possession of, nor otherwise disposed of by, Secured Party upon expiration of said twenty- (20) day default-curing period. Ownership subject to common-law copyright and UCC Financing and Security agreement filed with the UCC filing office. Record Owner: Molly Marie Zimmerman®, Autograph Common Law Copyright © 1986. Unauthorized use of "Molly Marie Zimmerman" incurs same unauthorized-use fees as those associated with MOLLY MARIE ZIMMERMAN®, as set forth above in paragraph "(1)" under "Self-executing Contract/Security Agreement in Event of Unauthorized Use.

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Volunteer Opportunities: Response to COVID-19
 In order to support community needs created by the Coronavirus outbreak, HandsOn Twin Cities has created a special Volunteer Hub with opportunities and guidelines for volunteering.

Fleece Tie Blankets

Kids in Need Foundation distributes free school supplies to students in need. Seeking groups and individuals to tie fleece blankets for students who do not come to school with warm gear. Blankets can be any size or design. <http://www.kidsinneedmn.org/>

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